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One of the sources of conflict in our urban centers today is the distrust that exists between the community and the police. In an effort to improve relations between community members and the police, so that both groups might work together more effectively in solving community problems, the Houston Cooperative Crime Prevention Program was organized. The program consists of six, three-hour sessions during which community members and the police meet together in face-to-face confrontations to examine the damaging stereotypes they have of each other, to explore how their own behaviors reinforce these stereotypes, to consider the sources of friction on key issues that keep them divided, and to plan steps to resolve these issues. The groups are assisted by group leaders who facilitate the interactions. The program design is described, and design problems are discussed. (Author)

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A PROGRAM IN COMMUNITY RELATIONS: FACE-TO-FACE CONFRONTATIONS

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Introduction

One of the major social characteristics that appears to be descriptive of our urban areas today is the presence of groups in conflict with each other. Not only is there conflict between groups, but there are major divisive tensions within groups. Nowhere is this conflict more evident than between the police and the community. In these times of civil strife the law enforcement agencies come under much criticism from the community because of the way the police are perceived by the community in their attempts to resolve this strife. The police, on the other hand, see the community as making their job much more difficult by lack of support and cooperation. As a consequence, much blame placing is carried on by both groups in their attempts to place the responsibility for the civic problems in the lap of the other. Thus we have two groups in conflict, each perceiving the other as the "enemy" and each feeling that they have to defend their own position. As a consequence, bad stereotypes form which create filters in the perceptual screens of each group, distorting images and information about each other. At a time when clear communication is most important between groups it tends to decrease; neither group wanting to listen to the other or hearing only that information which supports its own position. Each group is focused only on the differences between them obscuring the similarities or common goals that they might share. When solutions

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are offered each group feels committed to defend its own proposals rather than consider the merits of the other group's solutions. An air of mutual distrust and defensiveness clouds most attempts to get together to resolve apparent differences and to work cooperatively on community problems.

In an attempt to deal with some of these problems an organization of local businessmen banded together into a group called Community Effort, Incorporated. They contacted Dr. Blair Justice, the Community Relations Consultant to the Office of the Mayor who in turn contacted Dr. Melvin Sikes to consider the formulation of the police-community relations program. This program was entitled, The Houston Cooperative Crime Prevention Program and was sponsored by the Community Effort, Incorporated. The major goals of this program is to "effect optimum interpersonal relationships among the various segments of the Houston community and those dedicated to the protection of the rights of these individuals—the police officers. More specifically, the program is designed to ease existing tension between law enforcement and minority groups—particularly the Negro and the Mexican-American" (Sikes, 1967).

In order to realize the more general goal stated above, a more specific statement of the problem had to be considered so that its implementation in terms of program design could be more easily carried out. The specific goals of the program are, first, to have the police and community groups examine the damaging stereotypes that they have of each other, to look at the extent to which these stereotypes effect their attitudes, perceptions and behaviors, to consider to what extent they themselves reinforce these stereotypes in the

eyes of the other group, and, second, to develop a cooperative problem solving attitude directed toward resolving differences and reducing conflict to a level where both groups can work together constructively. The planning group decided that the design needed to include some sort of face-to-face confrontation between community and police in which both groups could express their feelings without fear of consequences.

Part of the staff, with the help of the Houston Council on Human Relations, concentrated on enlisting volunteers from the community to commit themselves to attend the six sessions within a series. Attempts were made to make this group as representative of the community as possible. The remaining staff, the group leaders, and Inspector Taylor of the Police Academy devoted their efforts to the program itself. Since it was impossible, because of shortage, to have the police attend during their regular work hours, they were asked to come during their off hours. To alleviate some of the problems this might create, they were compensated at the rate of three dollars an hour.

Program Design

The design of the present program was taken from a strategy used by Blake and Mouton in attempting to resolve a conflict between union and management officials (Blake, Mouton, and Sloma, 1965). The program contained nine phases to be completed in six, three-hour blocks of time. Two hundred police received a three-hour session each week (forty policemen each day, five days per week) until the eighteen hours were completed. At the completion of each eighteen hour program, a new group of two hundred policemen

was to be accommodated until the entire force had completed the series. For each eighteen hour series, an equal number of community members was sought with considerable attempt to make this group as representative of the community as possible. During the initial session the police and community members were divided into three groups: three police and three community. Each of the six groups was assigned a group leader. Group leaders consisted primarily of psychologists, psychology trainees, and others who were experienced in group dynamics or techniques designed to facilitate change.

Although the major framework of the design was set, group leaders implemented it in ways they felt would be most productive considering their own style and the nature of the population with which they were dealing. In addition to the group sessions, group leaders met every Friday afternoon to exchange ideas, suggest modifications and share experiences.

The following paragraphs will contain a phase-by-phase breakdown and the approximate number of hours spent on each phase.

Phase I. Orientation

One hour was spent in orienting both groups to the program, its background design and goals. Community members were asked to make a commitment for the six weeks so that there would be some continuity within their group. Community members were also encouraged to ask questions to clear up any misconceptions they might have had from previous notices.

Phase II. Intragroup Development of Own Image and Image of Other.

In the initial design community members and police met separately during this phase to develop their own images and images of the other group. Group members were first asked to make individual lists of the ways in which they saw themselves as a group. They were then asked to try to develop a group list, through consensus about their own image. At the completion of this task each group was then asked to develop a list of images of the other group. For the community members this task was not very difficult. For the police group, however, it was an extremely complex task since they had to identify the segment of the community for which they were developing images. Tables 1 through 6 illustrate these images (appendix). The items in these tables were selected from several hundred images and sorted into more general categories to prevent repetition and overlap. For each sub-grouping of images illustrative examples are presented in these tables. Because of the greater complexity of the task for the police, three tables were devoted to their perceptions of the community.

Some group leaders modified the design by having both groups develop their images in front of each other. That is, the police group worked on images while the community watched and listened, and then the procedure was reversed. This modification enabled the exchange and clarification of phases III and IV to procede more effectively since both groups had the flavor of the deliberations and the development of each image in mind. It was also easier for each group to grasp the feelings and attitudes of the other, having seen them in action than it probably was in the groups that developed their images separately.

Phases III and IV. Exchange and Clarification of Images.

Police and community members met in face-to-face confrontation groups to exchange and clarify the images they had of each other. These images were reproduced and distributed to all members. The major task during these phases was to have each group clarify what they meant by the images they had developed. The purpose was not to assess the accuracy of the image but merely to clarify it. It was extremely difficult to keep both groups focused on the task. They would frequently become defensive and deny the reality of the other's perceptions. During these two phases many heated exchanges occurred. Group leaders were focusing on process and using techniques to facilitate this exchange and clarification. Role playing, psychodrama, group observations, lecturettes, and other devices borrowed from the fields of human relations training and group therapy were employed by the group leaders. Three hours were devoted to these phases.

Phases V and VI. Intragroup Diagnosis of Present Relationship and Exchange of These Diagnoses Across Groups.

Three hours were devoted to these two phases. During the intragroup diagnosis the community and police met separately. Their task was to look at their own behaviors in terms of how they were stereotyped by the other group and explore how these behaviors facilitated the image the other group had of them. Each group developed a list of these behaviors which was reproduced and distributed to all members (Table 7 in appendix). Police and community members met again for the remaining two hours of the session to

share these diagnoses. In some cases group leaders did not divide the police and community groups but had them observe each other as they attempted to diagnose their own behaviors. Both groups had a tendency to return to the previous confrontation phase and had to be brought back to the task. This was particularly true of community members who were present for the first time or who had missed the first few sessions.

Phase VII. Identification of Key Issues and Sources of Friction.

During this phase attempts were made to get the community and police to work cooperatively in a problem-solving manner. To facilitate this some group leaders divided the entire group into two or three smaller groups consisting of both community members and police. This procedure tended to reduce their identity as separate groups. The problem each group had was to look back over the previous sessions and try to come up with a list of key issues that tended to keep the community and police divided. On the basis of the images, the intragroup diagnoses and the community-police interaction during the program, several areas or barriers were identified. These are illustrated in Tables 8 and 9 (appendix).

Phase VIII. Planning Steps to Alleviate Sources of Friction and Making Recommendations.

Approximately three to four hours were spent on this phase. Both police and community members worked cooperatively devising ways in which the key decisive issues could be alleviated. Table 10 (appendix) is illustrative of some of the recommendations that both groups developed. Again, there were

Occasional regressions to the confrontation phase among the community members.

Phase IX. Evaluation.

The last phase was devoted to some discussion of the value of the whole program. In addition, instruments were devised to elicit participants' reactions to the program as a whole and to comment on what value it had for them in their job as a police officer. The community members were also administered these instruments. The results of these instruments will be discussed in Dr. Cleveland's paper. About one hour was devoted to the evaluation phase.

Design Problems and Modifications

Community Attendance

In order to implement the design as it stands, it is important to have the continuity of attendance from both groups. Since the police were required to attend, this problem did not arise with them. The community members, however, were very inconsistent in their attendance. Images that would develop by one group during one week had to be frequently handled and explained by another group the following week. That is, dropouts from each session would be replaced by new members on the following session. During the whole six weeks there was a core of community members whose attendance was consistent. A large number, however, were either inconsistent or were entering the program at any phase during a series. As a consequence it was difficult to predict who the community group would consist of from week to week.

In addition, it was extremely difficult to get to get a cross-section of the community. During the first three series there was a predominance of lower socio-economic groups. Most of these were from the Negro community. Special

efforts were made to get representative samples from other groups particularly Mexican-American. This problem was somewhat alleviated by getting intact groups from organizations in the community who would commit themselves for the six weeks.

Clarity of Goals

In the original design: both management and union leaders had the same goals, e.g., increased production. It was extremely difficult to determine to what extent the goals of the community and the police were consistent. For example, the motivation of some community members for attending was primarily to air their grievances against the police, but not necessarily to solve mutual problems. Some members from both police and community were probably more interested in perpetuating the conflict than in alleviating it, i.e., carrying the confrontation phase into the later phases. As a whole, however, it was fairly clear that both police and community did not want to perpetuate the conflict.

Another implicit goal that seemed to be clouding the issue was the attempt of each group to change the other. When this was evident both groups responded more defensively. Both groups felt freer to acknowledge their own problems and need for change when they were not pressured by the other group to do so.

Many attempts were made through the newspapers and the television to get community members to attend these sessions. The presentation of the purpose of these meetings, however, was not consistent with goals as stated

above. The purpose was presented as an opportunity for community members to air their grievances against the police. With this in mind, many community members attended primarily to criticize the police department. As a consequence of this, many policemen may have felt that they were being scapegoated for the benefit of the community. The orientation meetings, however, restated the goals of the program so that this discrepancy in presentation was somewhat alleviated.

Pretraining of Group Leaders

Another major problem appeared to be due to the lack of pretraining of the group leaders. As a consequence of the time pressure by the sponsoring agency, very little time was spent in attempting to modify the design and to experiment with it before it was used on the program. As a result, group leaders were frequently experimenting during the program and were often unclear about the experimental model, its operations and procedures for the different phases. The recommendation here would be to pretrain group leaders in the use of any design and to try it out before applying it to the populations for which it is intended. Included in this pretraining would be some background orientation of the target populations. Many of the group leaders did not understand the police department and its procedures.

Confrontation Without Problem Solving

After the first few series many of the group leaders modified the initial design and concentrated more on the face-to-face confrontations of the two groups. Most of the group leaders made some attempt during the last few

sessions to have community and police groups work cooperatively on solving the problems dividing them. Other leaders attempted to resolve issues as they arose throughout the series. A few group leaders, however, allowed the community and the police to continue to confront each other for all six sessions. As a consequence of this latter procedure, the community and police did not have the experience of working <u>together</u> to resolve their differences. Thus, many of the group members from both sides finished the series without any closure. Because of new community members joining the groups each week, continuous confrontation without resolution was an ever present problem that had to be dealt with by the leaders.

<u>Pretraining Police Groups</u>

The extent to which both community and police were defensive soon became obvious to the group leaders. In addition, it was apparent that although many policemen may have felt differently about certain issues than their fellow officers, they did not feel free to air these feelings. There appeared to be a certain amount of pressure within the police group to show a solid front. As a consequence, many disagreements within the police group did not get expressed. This pressure to conform was not as great among the community members who were not related to each other in any work situation and, therefore, had less to lose by disagreeing with other community members. Some pretraining for the police in terms of their own attitudes and feelings toward each other and some focus on process issues rather than content might enable the police to be more productive in these confrontation meetings. That is,

they might be less defensive about their own problem areas and feel freer to disagree with each other in front of the community.

Randomizing Groups

Although there were attempts by the police officials to randomize the selection of police officers in terms of openness to the program, length of time in service, and degree of prejudism, etc., there were several groups that seemed to be very negatively biased, as a whole, toward the program. These groups were most difficult to work with because there were little, or no resources, in the group to counter the hostile and negative attitudes. In addition, these and other groups (which occurred mostly during the working day hours) were further disappointed and frustrated by the fact that it was extremely difficult to get community members during these hours. Many of them felt that there was no point in meeting if there were going to be no community members present. Since the design depends upon the community being present, they were right. Exacerbating the situation was the fact that the police were required to attend during their free hours. Many had off-hours employment to supplement their salaries which was not adequately compensated by the $9.00 per session provided by the program.

Summary

One of the sources of conflict in our urban centers today is the distrust that exists between the community and the police. In an effort to improve relations between the community members and police so that both groups might work together more effectively in solving community problems, the Houston

Cooperative Crime Prevention Program was organized. The program consists of six, three-hour sessions during which community members and police meet together in face-to-face confrontations to examine the damaging stereotypes they have of each other, to explore how their own behaviors reinforce these stereotypes, to consider, cooperatively, the sources of friction or key issues that keep them divided and to plan steps to resolve these issues. The groups are assisted by group leaders who facilitate the interactions. The program design is described and design problems discussed. To date, over 800 policemen and an equal number of community members have completed the course. The sessions will continue until the entire police force has completed the program.

References

Blake, R. R., Mouton, Jane S., and Sloma, R. L. The Union-Management Intergroup Laboratory: Strategy for Resolving Intergroup Conflict. The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1965.

Sikes, M. P. Houston Cooperative Crime Prevention Program. Paper presented Conference on Urban Minorities and Social Justice, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, November 10-11, 1967.

Table 1 Police Self-Image

Attitudes Toward Prejudice

Tolerant of minority as a whole.
Anti-race officers are in minority; police attitudes have changed.
Try to control, conceal and overcome prejudice.
We have prejudices like other groups and try to be fair and honest. May even lean over backwards when we recognize the prejudice.

Personal Attributes

Officers are financially responsible—pay their bills—they are honest.
Ethical. Honest—worthy of respect—honorable.
Almost complete absence of corruptness.
Physically clean and neat in appearance.
Concerned with improvement of own image and recognition.
Dedicated to job—strong sense of duty.
We are a suspicious group and tend to be distrustful of others—learn to be suspicious.

Personal Attributes in Relation to Others

Above average group of people doing an effective job with the man power we have.
Officers are polite and friendly, especially toward children.
We put on a professional front, hard, indifferent and calloused, but underneath we are concerned and have feelings.
We have responsibility to protect the rights of others—have to take consequences of decisions we make.
Assume more responsibility than average citizen.
Respectful and stern to all.
As a group we have to be more tolerant toward abuse that is directed toward us.
Treat people as nicely as they will let us treat them—Golden Rule applies.

Flexibility and Open-Mindedness

Police must adapt to many different kinds of behaviors.
We do act with tolerance and flexibility to a high degree of efficiency (but there is room for improvement).
As a group we are open-minded. Often act as judge and jury.
We try to be "Jack-of-all-trades." We try to solve all problems, even those not of a police nature—called upon to do this.
We must make quick decisions—must be justified to all.

Table 1 Police self-Image (continued)

Identity With the Community

Police are members of the community; they have homes, children, etc.
Policemen are human beings; they are concerned about their fellow man and help people in trouble.
Have good image with the community and have support of the community.
Police image is not as good as it should be—especially with minority groups.

Attitudes Toward Job

The job is hard and dangerous and have to take problems home with them.
Underpaid, understaffed, overworked.
Policemen believe in their work and are policemen by choice.
City policeman: Thankless task.
We are a professional group and striving for recognition as professionals.
Police officer is proud of his profession—trained dedicated professionals.

Qualifications for Job

Emotionally stable, highly trained with common sense.
Must be a listener: really be amateur practicing psychologist.
We are not rehabilitators.
Must talk on same level as people.
An above average group in education as compared to other groups with about equal income.
As compared to other police departments, we are highly trained—always striving to improve ourselves.

Expectations (Demands) of Community on Police

Public expects too much exemplary behavior off duty.
We see ourselves under close public scrutiny (i.e., as if in a glass house).
We see ourselves under pressure in the police role.
Police want rights—free time, to be treated as citizen, dignity for officer in court, laws to govern criminals, not police, recourse when falsely accused—a chance to face accuser.
Too many demands on police—expect more authority from police than they have—expect solutions to family and civil problems without themselves getting involved or giving help.

Image as Protector

Image should be that of a protector rather than an enforcer.

Table 1 Police Self-Image (continued)

Guardian of human rights.
Protectors of life and property.
Dedicated to enforcing law and order.
Stand against lawlessness.

Image as a Minority Group

Police are a minority group.
We feel like outsiders with other people—ostracized.
We see ourselves as clannish in response to being cut off by the citizens.
We are not accepted as individuals, but in some way always reminded of the fact we are policemen.
You have to be an officer to understand an officer. We are not understood by other people.
Much prejudice against us.
We see ourselves as scapegoats while doing what the community wants us to do.
Feel others remember only negative things about police.
We see ourselves as more defensive in recent years as a result of recent social developments (e.g., Supreme Court decisions, civil rights movements).

Table 2 Community Self-Image

Under Protection by the Police

Human beings under protection of the Police Department.
Part of us see police as persecutors, others as protectors or enforcers of the law.
Unprotected by police--community is a dangerous place.
Want to be protected but not subjected or disciplined.
Concerned over growing crime rate and very real possibility of civil disorders in our city.
We want a safe community but some flexibility in enforcement of laws.

Minority Group Feelings

Houston has bad race problems. Minority groups are armed. People feel no one cares about them including the minority groups.
Community composed of many different groups; race, culture, money, etc.
Some of the minority groups among us feel extremely frustrated over an inability to produce change in certain policies and behaviors (e.g., segregation in the city jail and alleged police brutality).
Some of us feel that we are not getting equal justice under the law.
Black community feels like second-class in relation to the Police Department.

Communication Problems

By and large, we lack knowledge about proper police procedure, authority, and power.
Some community people do not know its rights, obligations and duties with regard to the law.
There is a lack of communication between police and community.
Trying to improve communication problems.

Community (Attitudes) Toward Police

Relate to police more as authority figures than people.
Some of us feel uncomfortable around policemen. We believe one reason for this is we are not sure of being treated with proper respect.
Willing to communicate with police, but afraid.
Distrustful of other people and policemen.
Seen as a criminal by police.
The young are hostile toward the police; see themselves as anti-police; learn from parents.
Parents stick up for children rather than police.
Perpetuate and foster fear of police as a matter of course. Realize such behavior is not necessarily based on reality factors.
We sometimes harass policemen when they take an arrogant attitude.

Table 2 Community Self-Image (continued)

People are right most of the time in their encounters with the police.
We see ourselves as not sufficiently concerned with our fellow man. This is especially true in regard to the police.
Law-makers—not enforcers—do not take responsibility for crime.
Community people help their fellow man, but do not want to get involved with police work.
Strong need to be related to as people.
The community rightly expects city officers and city employees to solve city problems.

Negative Attitudes Toward Self

We are always on the defensive.
Lack of concern between individuals in the community.
Poor community image—high crime rate.
Apathetic towards effecting city action.
Lawless elements.
We sometimes resent being caught when doing something wrong—guilty conscience.
Well educated people of the higher socio-economic strata sometimes do not set up example that they should, e.g., fix tickets, buy way out of serious offense.

Positive Attitudes Toward Self

Majority of community is law-abiding.
Citizens (people) have humane legal rights (to be treated with respect) and obligations.
Citizens who are honest, responsible and productive.
As citizens of the United States.
Community people are hard working and want Houston to be progressive.
Citizens who support through taxes and personal effort in order to stabilize this community for ourselves and our children.
Not perfect—wrong 50% of the time.
As a diversified group having different kinds of problems to work out with the police department.
There is a lack of communication between social, geographical, racial, and economic segments of the community.

Table 3 Community Image of Police

Abusive Behavior

Some police tend to be brutal both verbally and physically.
Some police belligerence is a rejection of their superior's attitudes.
Police use dogs in an inhuman and careless way.
They harass innocent people in the community.

Attitudes Toward Minority Groups

Psychologically abusive—call names (boy, nigger, baboon, spook), frighten people—blue fear.
Physically abusive—forceful in minority abuse, beat minority groups, handle people roughly.
Police discriminate against the lower socio-economic classes including white, Negro, and Latin American. Poor people are mistreated more often than rich.
An agency of the Establishment that maintains the status quo.
WASP's look down on policemen; policemen are more courteous to Southwest Houstonians.
Police tend to stereotype Negro community—tend to act in accordance with this stereotype.

Police as Authoritarian

Some policemen often misuse their authority.
Some policemen act as judge, jury and prosecutor, treating a person as guilty without explanation.
Those policemen with the most service time are the most authoritarian. They are also the least flexible to legal and social change.
The kind of people in police work often have personality inadequacies—prone to violence—authoritarian oriented—inadequate.

Lack of Respect for Community

Police demand respect rather than earn it.
Should treat people as people rather than things.
A majority of the community sees the police as cold and mechanical in the performance of their duties, e.g., police are too rude.
Cynical—deal with criminal element which gives them low regard for people.
The police treat individuals as guilty and without dignity upon arrest or investigation.
Police spend more time in meddling in people's private affairs than in solving serious crimes.
We see the police as lacking in human understanding due mainly to lack of time to know individuals.

Table 3 Community Image of Police (continued)

Positive Image

Police have a difficult and dangerous job.
By and large, we feel the police are doing as good a job as possible.
We see the policemen as protectors, whom we can turn to in time of need.
Most little children look up to policemen.
Would like more unofficial contact with police.
As performing one of the more unpleasant but necessary roles or functions in the community.

Personal Attributes

Police are overly suspicious.
Police have no sense of humor.
Police think they are never wrong.
Police do not play fair—hide behind bushes, billboards, etc.
Police try to prove selves—effect official, condescending "Big Guy" attitude.
Police are courteous on occasions.
They usually look neat and clean.
Responsible but may have bad image with some community members.
Some policemen accept bribes.

Minority Problems Within Police

Ratio of Negro to white policemen questioned.
Image of Negro policeman is that of a flunky. Cannot arrest whites—negates effectiveness. Although legally Negro patrolman can detain anyone—superiors' learnings may effect enforcement.
No Negroes in position of rank. Are Negroes advanced as fast as whites?
Negro officers do not take part in community activities—other than as patrolman.

Qualifications

We see police as not having enough education for their job.
Police ought to be more professional.
Well trained in enforcement but not in human relations.
Because policemen are working for relatively low pay, we think that officers are incompetent.
Higher pay may attract better quality persons.
Police use the excuse of being understaffed for all their faults, everyone is understaffed and this is not excuse enough.

As an Ingroup

Police are a secret group and cover for each other. They show more concern for each other than community people.

Table 3 Community Image of Police (continued)

Police tend to fear and resent outside criticism.
Police are conditioned to enforce law, not to protect human rights.
Police have no one to answer to but themselves.
The Police Department is a kind of military organization that is aggressive and leans to using force rather than reason.

Seen as Outsiders

We see police as separated from community, walled off (they see the world through a windshield).
Our initial color response to policemen is blue. Roughly half of us see policemen as an adversive; negative, and stereotyped in a negative way.
Wants to be treated as a person.

Table 4 Police Image of Community I:

General and Community Minority

General Description of Community
Basically the public is cooperative and friendly and law abiding.
Are uninformed about duties, procedures, qualifications, and responsibility of the police officer.
General public is due respect.
Easily deluded by news media.
Prejudiced in one way or another.
Unwilling to get involved.
Most of the trouble-makers would have trouble with authority anywhere.
General public is fed up with "protesters" and "demonstrators."
Protesters don't want to compromise or see other views.
Community Relations to Police
People for law enforcement as long as it is not directed at them.
Only want police around when they can profit from our presence.
Their attitude toward the uniformed police is one of suspicion.
Hamper us in the performance of our job.
Stereotype police officers unfavorably.
More concerned with individual rights than the general welfare of the community.
Parents don't teach kids respect for authority. Teach fear of police. Sometimes parents call on police to discipline their children for them.
As a whole we have good relationship with the public.
Community as Complex
City is varied, image is different in each section. Areas of people who act hostile, superior, neutral. There are wide ranges of attitudes within all areas.

Table 5 Police Image of Community II:

By Social Class

Upper Class

Feel immune to the law.
Family ties beginning to break down (even more than middle class)—this in turn causes police problems.
Parents attempt to use money and influence to avoid police action against children and themselves.
Much more concern for themselves than others.
Almost no contact with police.
Caste system.
Supportive of police.
Moral values different than predominant value system.

Middle Class

Initiate majority of complaints against police.
Want police to take action on problems not of a police nature (lower end).
Do not want to be involved in other people's problems—look out for themselves.
Family ties beginning to break down—this in turn causes police problems.
Less calls of a police nature.
More supportive of the police.
Parents attempt to use money and influence to avoid police action against children and themselves (upper middle).
Majority of police contact through traffic violations.
Keep up with the Joneses (upper middle).
More civic minded than upper class or lower class.
Value system is predominant one.

Lower Class

More often handled by police. Much more frequent contact either by call or jail.
Uncooperative with police, e.g., witnesses, information, do not report crime, some want to handle their own problems.
Less crime against property, more crime against persons reported.
Want police to take action without filing charges.
Expect you to settle things not of a police nature.
Last to complain against police.
Hard to communicate with: language problem.
Prejudiced against Police Department.
Sense of values do not conform to predominant value system.
Live only for today—do not plan for tomorrow.
Family ties close.

Table 6 Police Image of Community III: By Race

Negro

Most have to be told what to do and expect it. Younger generation expect it but resent it more openly.
Less regard for private property and human life.
Feel they are being arrested because they are Negro.
Most carry weapons.
Will not cooperate by giving information unless it benefits them (most).
Don't know difference between civil and criminal law or what constitutes a police call.
We see the Negro as being apathetic.
We see them divided among themselves.
We feel that there is a lack of pride.
We see them as being easily influenced.
Until high school Negro children show more respect for police.
We see them as potentially good citizens if led in right direction.
We would like to see them take pride in their community and express some (juvenile).
We feel this group has lost the respect of the younger generation (older generation).
Less respect for Holy matrimony and have more family problems (lower class).
Many too sensitive about being Negro. Inferiority complex—tell themselves they're "better than others" in many cases and reject others.
On basis of experience as police officers we see the Houston Negro as a political structure demanding and receiving excessive tax funds out of proportion to their number in the general population.
Gross disrespect for law and order within Negro community.
Use "negro" as career for hand-outs.
On basis of experience as police officers we see the Houston Negro as two classes: Negro—Industrious, productive, moral, law-abiding, conforms to standards of the majority, creative, honest, and not prone to violence.
"nigger"—Non-productive, lazy, immoral, uses ignorance as a tool for his good; dishonest, destructive; uses violence as a means to achieve his ends.
On basis of experience as police officers we see the Houston Negro as holding down jobs they are not qualified for because they are members of the Negro race, political pressure, etc.

Mexican-Americans

On the basis of experience as police officers we see the Mexican American as:
A close-knit group that stays to themselves.
Because of being so close-knit they disadvantage themselves. For example, they, for the most part, don't learn English, don't utilize our system of justice, and resist assimilation into our culture.

Table 6 Police Image of Community III: By Race
(continued)

A proud race of people.
The young Mexical male prone to use marijuana more often than males of other groups.
Want to take care of their own problems.
Less regard for private property.
Want police protection but fear assuming civic responsibility.
More respect for Holy matrimony and family.
Most carry weapons.
Will not cooperate by giving information unless it benefits them (most).
Don't know difference between civil and criminal law or what constitutes a police call.
Most are bilingual.

Whites

We feel that the white race has the balance of power and have the primary responsibility for the state of affairs.
We don't think that we are any more respected as a whole by the white community than by the Negro community.
In the younger generation there is a breakdown of discipline and control with disregard and disrespect for authority.
Some of the more "financially influential" whites use their power to place themselves above the law.
We see them as spectators and not responsive to our problems.
We see a breakdown in the family life of our white society.
Want police protection but do not want to get involved in other people's police problems.
Less respect for Holy matrimony and have more family problems.
Don't know difference between civil and criminal law or what constitutes a police call.
Expect more and quicker service because of lack of contact with police (upper class).
The upper class white tends to look down upon the police and to see themselves as better.
They are very self-centered (upper class).
They have false pride (upper class).
They tend to see the police as being intruders (upper class).
Most carry weapons (lower class).

Table 7 Police Intragroup Diagnosis

Policemen are Abusive and Harass Citizens

We sometimes use a large number of men to handle one resistive man so as not to hurt him. If one policeman has to handle a resistive man, chances are greater of someone getting hurt.
We investigate anything unusual or out of the ordinary—sometimes with so-called prying questions so they can justify their acts. Meddling and harassment just describe a policeman doing his duty.
Ask witnesses to explain their story many times:
a. Check for consistency
b. For additional facts that may be recalled after first telling.
We get scared too.
Judging all citizens by action of one.
We arrest people and put them in jail and write traffic tickets.
We cannot please everyone when we enforce the law.
Failure to respect a person's rights, regardless of race or creed.
Failure to show an interest in citizen's complaints.
Dogs are often effective in moving people back when they refuse to budge. Dogs are not turned loose.
Some police are "set in ways": "Niggers still niggers" to them.
Sometimes have to fight a man to get him in the patrol car. Two policemen will lessen chance of man getting hurt.
There have been occasions of brutality and will be again. These are in the minority. Proven cases are disciplined severely.
Policemen get angry too.
Put handcuffs on man when there is possibility of someone getting hurt.
We give traffic tickets, arrest people and put people in jail—enforce the law.
Verbal brutality depends upon incident and people involved. If physical violence judged to be necessary it is used.
A few police abuse their authority.

Police are Nosy and Meddle in Private Affairs

We find this necessary sometimes in order to investigate, solve, or prevent crimes.
By mutual consent, we may help solve problems not of a police nature.
Seek information or investigate any situation that looks unusual. Do not always have time to explain actions.
On occasion, police will ask questions they shouldn't ask.
Good police officer is curious and suspicious. It's part of his profession.

Few Negroes on Police Force and These are Discriminated Against.

In the past Negro policemen arrested only Negroes, and were assigned to Negro areas. This is no longer true.

Table 7 Police Intragroup Diagnosis (continued)

Few Negroes on Police Force, few apply, i.e., Class #35:
Negro applications totaled 66; 10 were accepted (15%); 3 withdrew.
White applications totaled 451; 62 were accepted (13%).
Of the 451 applicants, 213 were rejected before being investigated.
Of the 66 Negro applicants, 39 were rejected before being investigated.
Fewer promotions—do not take exams that are available to all.
No integrated teams in patrol cars, majority of Negroes and whites do not want it. Survey team showed it created more problems than it solved (International Assoc. of Police Officers sponsored research).
Some police officers are prejudiced.

Lack of Communication

Police don't always explain.
Inability to use language understandable by citizens.
Not being able to investigate cases in reasonable time due to a heavy case load.
Necessary delays in putting people (who telephone) in touch with right department.

Police as Authority Figures

When we arrive on the scene we must take command of the situation, who else will?
In order to create order we may yell or bark orders, particularly in fires and accidents.

Table 8 Community Intragroup Diagnosis

Negative Attitude Toward Police

Do not support Police Department properly (pay raises and appropriations).
Don't cooperate with police (a) for fear of being branded informer, and (b) being called upon repeatedly for informing.
We tend to stereotype police and overgeneralize these in ways that are inappropriate.
We react to police on basis of past history.
We create an impression of police on basis of what we read or hear and tend to react in a negative manner when we come in contact with police.
Prank calls, abusive language and lack of respect for authority.
Judge all policemen by actions of one or few.
Parents sometimes say "If you're not good, I'll get the police."

Community Poorly Informed About Police

Most community people don't inform themselves as to what laws and police procedures are.
Our mistrust of the police leads to our being suspicious of whatever the police do. Therefore, they have to overcome their bad image and our suspiciousness.

Prejudice Within Community

Some people within a given minority group do claim persecution in order to avoid arrest and prosecution.
We may react to apparent or real unequal treatment amongst Negro and white officers. For example, when a Negro officer has to wait for a white officer to take charge of a case.
Negroes generally feel that Negro officers are "turn coats," so they treat them in a condescending manner.

Lack of Responsible Behavior Within the Community

Most community people gripe about how they feel unjustly treated, but most are not interested enough to do something about it.
Our manner often influences the treatment we receive at the hands of the police.
Drinking and having wild parties in the home—uncontrolled.
Unsupervised children.
Reckless driving, or driving while intoxicated.
Rundown, unclean neighborhoods.
Disrespect for traffic laws.

Table 8 Community Intragroup Diagnosis (continued)

Minority Groups and Lower Class More in Conflict with Police

Little opportunity for productive spare-time activities. This leads to actions that look like "loitering" and aimless meetings on the street. This is one way of socializing but it is misunderstood by the Police Department. Takes place on corners, barbershops, bar rooms, etc. Suspicious police may break up these groups when they check them out. This causes resentment by community people towards police.
Fewer people hold steady jobs.
Fewer strong family ties.
Negroes expect to be misunderstood and poorly treated by Police Department and are, therefore, defensive when confronted by police.
On the streets, arguments develop and people often react with violence because:
a. Some have difficulty arguing with words and/or
b. They are so frustrated from other experiences that they use violence to blow off steam.
Some people do swear/curse a lot.
Some communities (like the Negro community) use slang expressions which are not understood by outsiders (Police Department), sometimes to exclude, sometimes to carry on a secret conversation.
Lack of knowledge about what is/is not police business—not enough public information. Many Negroes assume that white police officers have total authority for dealing with all kinds of non-police business.
Many people complain to friends in community since they feel that nobody downtown would listen to or care about such complaints. Also, they do not know the appropriate procedures to go through. Fear that if charges are made, the police may "have it in for them," fear retaliation from policemen and community.

Table 9 Key Issues and Sources of Friction

Mutual Distrust

Community people are afraid of police.
Distorted views and attitudes caused by rumor.
Lack of respect on part of community and police toward each other.
Prejudices are present and limit necessary communications.
Stereotype of citizens by police and vice versa.
Neither group likes to be stereotyped. Because of distrust each group feels they are more abused in this area than they really are.
Lack of objective news coverage.
Faulty image building (e.g., television).

Lack of Contact

No contact in favorable situations (contacts with people in line of duty only).
Insufficient funds for a public relations program.
Time a limiting factor for contact between police and public.

Lack of Communication

Delays in police service (public doesn't know why).
Lack of communication on part of both community and police.
Community is unaware of police procedures and problems.

Problems Within Community

Some long-standing social customs discourage positive attitudes toward police, e.g., fixing tickets, cheating on income tax, outsmarting authority.
Citizens don't want to become involved.
Community is afraid of reprisals by persons in the community.
Tendency of community members to protect one another causes a breakdown in community-police relations. Community feels the police protect their own (justified or not).
Lack of communication between different parts of community.

Table 10 Recommendations Arrived at by

Both Police and Community Participants

More Honest News Coverage

News media needs to police themselves to give more authentic picture of situations they cover. They frequently slant or distort stories and pictures to sell newspapers.

Distribution of Information about Police Work and the Law

Feature stories on TV or newspapers regarding police work and police problems—human interest, children's programs where policeman is seen as interested information giver.
Citizens request more speakers from police department.
Police department make more speakers available to handle load and prevent delay.
Regularly scheduled programs on TV and radio for questions and answers regarding the operations of the department.
Teach students the law in high school—a required part of the curriculum.
Traffic programs set up for traffic offenders.
Police displays.

Communication-Information in Both Directions

Begin communications in junior high school.
Establish a rumor control center where people could phone or contact to get straight information.
The people in the center need to be people who are trusted and acceptable to all sides.
Look at those areas in town or those organizations where there is good communication and see what makes it work.

More Contact Between Police and Community

Continue police-community programs in the community, public schools, and police academy.
We recommend that community leaders across the various sub-communities get organized and explore meaningful ways of working with the Public Relations Division of the police department and publicize it.
Provide more opportunities to meet the public, give tours and establish points of information to greet public.
More active police participation (as a department) in civic affairs; e.g., PTA meetings, community councils, civic clubs, TV appearances, making sub-stations available to public.

Table 10 Recommendations Arrived at by

Both Police and Community Participants
(continued)

Large public relations department—e.g., conduct driver education classes, assign officers to high schools, citizens ride with officers on rounds, visit jails, police stations and see routine day and night work.
Shaping Attitudes and Behaviors of Police and Community
We recommend that the Chief of Police, with explicit support of the Mayor, issue a public statement which stipulates that there is, and has been, a policy of the police department directing officers to relate to all Houston citizens as people with equal rights (regardless of race and economic level).
Recommend that salaries of police officers be periodically reviewed in accordance with the cost of living index.
Recommend that more and more officers be provided the opportunities (special funds and official time off) to take advantage of Universities and other training programs designed to further his development as an officer.
Devise way to reach adults to make them more aware of how to provide a better model for the younger groups.
Community should make their complaints to the proper authorities.
Department should initiate integrated teams—would lessen feelings of segregation and Negro inadequacy. Would say to people that all police are equal.